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1. The third week of May 1951 in Soviet internal propaganda was essentially devoted to various questions concerning the internal life of the USSR, and, in this respect, differed little from the preceding weeks.
2. On 17 May 51 the Ministry of Finance of the USSR announced the discontinuation of the subscription to the loan, which up to that time had raised  $34\frac{1}{2}$  billion rubles - an excess of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  billion over the designated amount. A similar excess in the actual subscription has been the usual thing over recent years, but a considerably longer time was required to attain the standard result this year than was necessary last year, for example. This can be explained by the much larger amount of the loan itself (10 billion rubles more). The intensiveness of the propaganda for the loan subscription was more or less normal, and the propaganda itself was distinguished from analogous campaigns in the past only by the increased publicity given "Stalinist construction projects," for the financing of which the loan was formally launched.

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3. The details published in the Soviet press during the first days of May concerning the May Day celebration in Moscow and other cities of the Soviet Union contain no information about any significant shifts or changes in the personnel of the leadership of the Party and the Soviet state, neither in Moscow nor in the rest of the country. The line-up order of the "leaders" on the tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum with the same as last year, with Malenkov and Beria in third and fourth place, respectively. Andreev, who, it seems, is ill, was the only Politburo member not present at the parade. The only distinctive feature was that, in arranging themselves on the tribune of the Mausoleu, Bulganin stood on the right of Stalin, while Malenkov took his place on Stalin's left. This gave the effect of pointing up the fact that Bulganin is Stalin's chief assistant for military affairs, and Malenkov, his chief assistant in affairs of the party and Soviet state. Molotov stood four places away from Stalin, coming after Malenkov, Beria, Kaganovich and Mikoyan, but, generally speaking, in all official photographs of the past year and a half, Molotov has always stood rather far away from Stalin, and, therefore, it is hardly proper to draw any serious conclusions from his position on the tribune.
4. Following tradition, Stalin was presented at the parade with a bouquet of flowers from the schoolchildren of Moscow. On this occasion the flowers were handed to Stalin by Ira Mel'nikova, who is apparently the daughter of L G Mel'nikov, the first secretary of the TsK KP(b) of the Ukraine. The photograph of the presentation, inserted in Soviet newspapers, makes a somewhat humorous impression. In accepting the flowers, Stalin stepped aside somewhat from his place, into which the young girl was put. As a result, she appears taller than Stalin, and this accidentally revealed the fact that Stalin usually stands on a special footboard to conceal his short stature.
5. The parade itself followed tradition, being characterized by a combination of Communist and national propaganda effects, with portraits of Politburo members and leaders of foreign Communist Parties, slogans of the TsK VKP(b), etc, together with Orders of Suvorov and Guards badges. In command of the air parade was Vasilii Stalin, whose name has not been mentioned in print since last year's celebration of the Soviet Air Force, when he was supposed to lead the parade. However, the parade was cancelled at the last moment.
6. Throughout the country the May Day celebrations followed the usual pattern. The same people as last year appeared on the rostrums. The only thing to be noted was the appearance in Tashkent in the post of the secretary of the TsK KP(b) of Uzbekistan of one R Mel'nikov. He is probably a brother or close relative of the present dictator of the Ukraine, L Mel'nikov.
7. From the information already received in May it is noteworthy that, in spite of the fact that propaganda is concentrated on agricultural questions in relation to the spring field work, the topic of consolidated kolkhozes continues to be passed over in silence.
8. The Thirteenth Volume of Stalin's Works

In the last day of April the 13th volume of Stalin's works, covering the period from July 1930 to January 1934, came out in print. The volume contains several of Stalin's reports (among them, the report on the results of the first five year plan made in the plenum of the TsK VKP(b), and the report to the 17th Party Congress), but it is essentially filled with a variety of minor speeches, articles and personal letters. Although the volume spans a 3-1/2 year period of time, it was obviously filled up only with great difficulty, so that it was necessary to print a number of heretofore unpublished letters from Stalin to various individuals of minor importance, such as Dem'yan Bednyi. It is very characteristic that this volume contains very little material on the struggle against the opposition, although it was precisely in those years that Stalin made an extremely intensive behind-the-scene effort to liquidate the last centers of opposition to his one-man dictatorship in the party and country, and to make preparations for the great purge of Yezhov (the purge of 1936-38). The publication of this sort of material is

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apparently still considered undesirable, although approximately 12 years have passed since that period. The volume is also very meager in respect to external problems, although these were the years in which Hitler came to power.

9. The extremely long time which was required to prepare this volume for publication should also be remarked. The preceding, 12th volume was published in October 1949 and followed the 11th volume almost immediately. A year and a half was required to prepare the 13th volume. Inasmuch as it covers a very important period of time, when Stalin's business correspondence alone would have been enough to fill a complete volume, the question was apparently which of Stalin's secret instructions and letters should be included in this volume, and which not. The decision was taken not to include anything which was previously known in general outline. The interest of this volume consists mainly in its exceptional poverty of content and in its concealment of all of the most important questions at that time.

#### 10. Party Questions

Because of the May Day celebration, the Soviet press in the last days of April and first days of May published almost no material on the situation within the party. This can be explained also by the completion of the round of oblast and kray party conferences, and by the seasonal shifting of attention to economic questions. Judging by several minor materials which have appeared during the period we are considering, the only article to offer any interest is the one by the secretary of the Stalino Oblast Committee KP(b) of the Ukraine, A Struyev, about the work of party organizations in the Donbass (Pravda, 26 Apr 51).

11. According to this article, in recent months the movement of Communists to command posts in mines has been on the upswing, especially in underground work. For the past two years, 1,635 Communists have been sent to mines, directly to underground work, in the Stalino Oblast and distributed among decisive sectors of coal mining. Thus, Communists made up one-third of the number of mining combine and cutting machine operators, and more than 40% of the mechanics. More than half of the section chiefs were also Communists. This compulsory saturation of coal mines with Communists is doubtlessly a mobilization measure. The coal industry has now been put on the same basis as the army and transportation system. It is significant that a considerable portion of leading party personnel on the oblast level has also been sent to mines for regular work there. Political work among the non-party masses of miners is also being carried on at the same intensified tempo: in the last two years approximately 700 thousand discussions, lectures and political studies have been conducted in mines of the Stalino Oblast.
12. In the second half of May the central press once more began paying serious attention to party questions, to demand that the issues raised by the party conference during the past three months be carefully worked over, and that the party-political and party-organizational work be improved. Very significant in this regard is the lead article in Pravda, 20 May 51, in which local party organs are cautioned against lethargy. Pravda writes in this article that the party conferences brought to light many serious shortcomings in the political work of party organs, which devote too much attention to economic problems, take on the character of economic organs, and fail to fulfill their direct responsibilities.

#### 13. The Situation in regard to Industry and Agriculture

Still in the forefront of the industrial question is the problem of supplying the hydroelectric station and canal projects with machines, equipment and construction materials, especially concrete. The whole powerful apparatus of Soviet propaganda has been put to the service of supplying the "construction projects of Communism" with all the necessities. In the central and local press whole pages are devoted to these questions, while the same theme fills the broadcasts of the Moscow radio which are devoted to internal questions. In connection with the May Day celebration there was a predominance of eulogies for the selfless labor of Stakhanovites, the overfulfillment of norms and assignments in constructions orders, etc. In subsequent days, however, materials of a critical nature came to the foreground, pointing out that the extra orders of these construction works had placed a very

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heavy burden on all branches of Soviet industry, and that the orders passing down the MVD line were carried out only at the expense of curtailing the production of all other orders.

14. The transfer of forced labor camps to accommodate the needs of these construction projects made it difficult above all for the lumber industry of the USSR, the basic exploiter of slave labor. To materials which have arrived previously concerning the crisis in the lumber industry, and to the violent criticism of this industry in the last sessions of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and RSFSR, new materials of a similar nature are continually being added. Thus, for example, the newspaper Trud, [REDACTED] that in Gorkiy Oblast they had recently created more than a thousand different small lumber bureaus, which were forced to pay for procuring lumber and loading it into freight cars four to five times, and, in some cases, even 10 to 12 times more than was expected on the basis of current appraisals for this work. Since all these government organizations recruit their manpower from kolkhozes, one may judge the size of the labor force which the Soviet lumber industry employs in "normal" times. The necessity for paying woodcutters and loaders 10 to 12 times more than the current estimates could come about only if these estimates took into consideration the labor of prisoners in concentration camps and prisoners of war.
15. In all branches of industry a crisis in the Stakhanovite system, which has been repeatedly mentioned in previous resumes, continues to be noted. During the past weeks central organs of authority have been putting intensified pressure on trade union organs to find a way to overcome this phenomenon. So far, no way has been found, and the matter is confined to bitter criticism of trade union organizations, mainly by the paper, Trud.
16. The most characteristic feature of the treatment given agricultural questions in the central Soviet press recently is the complete absence of any reference to consolidated kolkhozes. The ever-increasing uneasiness of Moscow over the condition of the animal husbandry industry and the forage base for cattle stands out among the questions of a practical nature. On 27 Apr 51, for example, Pravda printed a very alarming report about the serious state of the animal husbandry industry and the forage base for cattle in the Stavropol' Kray, Kazakhstan SSR, and Yaroslavl' Oblast, and of the completely inadequate tempos in the building-up of a forage base for cattle in the Ryazan, Voronezh, Orlov, and Velikiya Luki Oblasts. Pravda accused the kolkhozes and Machine Tractor Sections of these oblasts of an "anti-state and dependent approach to this most important state matter" and demanded that all party, state and economic organs of authority immediately set about establishing order in the animal husbandry industry, in the fields and pastures.
17. On 27 Apr 51 there appeared in Pravda a short (15 lines in all), but politically very significant, note concerning the condition of kolkhozniks in Belorussia. The article was titled, "For the Holidays-New Homes," and described how hundreds of families of kolkhozniks in the Minsk, Vitebsk, Gomel' and other oblasts of Belorussia were transferred to new homes before the May Day celebration. As we know, after the war around 10 million peasants in the western oblasts of the USSR found themselves without homes and had to live for a number of years in dugouts, bunkers and other temporary dwellings. In autumn of 1949 the entire Soviet press initiated a grandiose propaganda campaign, developed on the theme that these hardships were now a thing of the past and that all kolkhozniks of the Ukraine, Belorussia and the central oblasts of the RSFSR had received new, well-constructed homes, living much better than they did before the war.
18. Now, a year and a half later, it turns out that this whole campaign was nothing but the most insolent of lies. Reporting the resettlement of these several hundred families of Belorussian peasants, Pravda, 27 Apr 51, concludes its note with the following words: "Construction of homes for kolkhozniks goes on everywhere. In the spring of this year tens of thousands more kolkhozniks will give a housewarming."
19. And so, six years after the end of the war and eight years after the departure of the Germans from Belorussia, tens of thousands of kolkhozniks still remain in the dugouts which were built in the war years. Knowing these facts, what infinite arrogance they had to have to speak about the construction of "agricultural cities"

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(agrogorod), the opulent life of Soviet kolkhozniks, and their "achievements" as a result of the "victory" of the post-war five year plan.

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